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NOTE

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2507th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 20 December 1983, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Max VAN DER STOEL (Netherlands).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2507)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
   Letter dated 14 December 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16216).

The meeting was called to order at 11:30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 14 December 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16216)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2504th to 2506th meetings*], I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nigeria, Portugal, Somalia, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Deressa (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ould Hamody (Mauritania), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Anyaoku (Nigeria), Mr. Medina (Portugal), Mr. Adan (Somalia), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

3. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, may I begin by thanking you and the other members of the Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this important debate on the complaint by Angola against South Africa. Furthermore, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Mr. President, my delegation's congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of December.

4. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Victor Gauci of Malta, who so ably presided over the work of the Council last month.

5. Members of the Council are well aware that racist South Africa pursued a policy of aggression against Angola even before that country attained its independence. The racist South African troops had invaded Angola several weeks prior to the proclamation of independence on 11 November 1975. This policy was transformed into one of permanent illegal occupation when, in August 1981, racist South Africa invaded and occupied some parts of southern Angola. That illegal occupation is being maintained now and is the reason for the Council's meeting.

6. Last Friday my colleague and brother, Mr. Elisio de Figueiredo, of Angola, clearly and convincingly presented the case of his Government against South Africa [*2504th meeting*]. Angola has once again come to the Council to ask this body, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to act decisively to put an end to the illegal and untenable continued occupation of part of its territory by racist South Africa.

7. Furthermore, at the same meeting we had occasion in the Council to listen to the representative of the racist Pretoria régime engage in his country's characteristic subterfuge and deception in diverting attention from the real issue of its illegal occupation of Angola to irrelevant issues. He sought, *inter alia*, to link the dis-

engagement of his country's forces of occupation in Angola and the independence of Namibia to the simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. He made no attempt to address the issue at hand—which is a clear indication that the racist Pretoria régime has had no valid reason whatsoever for its occupation of the independent State of Angola other than to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and the inhuman system of *apartheid*.

8. Zambia, which has also been a victim of racist South Africa's aggression, is aware of the magnitude of the invasion and occupation of Angola, which is under consideration. It involves the indiscriminate committing of brutality and acts of genocide by the racist troops of Pretoria. It also involves extensive damage to, and destruction of, property. The occupation forces have literally plunged Angola into permanent distress, given the massive and tragic losses of human life that the racists continuously wreak upon the peace-loving people of Angola.

9. This situation shows no sign of abating. It is only proper, therefore, to recall that in 1981 the Council met to consider this same issue [*2296th to 2300th meetings*] but, regrettably, failed to take appropriate action because of a veto cast by a permanent member. This was notwithstanding Council resolution 475 (1980), paragraph 7 of which relates to the decision made

> "to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist régime, in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof."

10. Since the adoption of that resolution—more than three years ago—the situation has worsened. The racist Pretoria régime has increased its acts of violence, brutality, murder and wanton destruction of property in Angola. It has also maintained the occupation of Angola, thus violating beyond measure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. Without doubt, these acts of violence and occupation constitute a gross and flagrant violation of international law, particularly Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations.

11. In this connection, I wish to place on record my country's considered view that no principle enshrined in the Charter could be more fundamental to the maintenance of good and harmonious relations between States than mutual respect for the territorial integrity of all States. South Africa's disregard with impunity of the Charter and of norms of international law has culminated in that racist régime's acts of aggression against, and destabilization of, the independent States in the region. The Council must surely find this situation intolerable and should, therefore, feel duty-bound to act decisively in the interest of peace and justice in that beleaguered region.

12. In fact, racist South Africa has distinguished itself as the rogue State that it is in the whole region through its naked aggression against, and destabilization of, its peace-loving neighbours. This sustained commitment to violence betrays an insidious design by the racist Pretoria régime to impede and obstruct the processes of national reconstruction of its neighbours. In addition, it is also aimed at weakening the unrelenting support of the front-line States for the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa. There is no doubt, however, that the liberation movements will triumph in spite of the machinations of the racist South African régime.

13. The inescapable conclusion that can be drawn from the racist Pretoria régime's policy of unprovoked aggression against, and destabilization and occupation of, parts of neighbouring States is that racist South Africa has never been interested in creating conditions of justice, peace and stability, which are essential for good-neighbourliness.

14. The illegal occupation of some parts of southern Angola by racist troops is a challenge to the efficacy of the Council, whose primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security. To that end, the Council must move from mere expressions of pious support for Angola to taking concrete action which must culminate in dislodging racist South Africa from Angolan soil. This is as it should be, because it is the duty of the Council to come to the rescue of countries such as Angola whose peace and security have been gravely jeopardized. The Council should, therefore, take urgent measures aimed at securing the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of racist South Africa's military forces from Angola.

15. I should like to take this opportunity to remind the Council that the support given racist South Africa by some major Western countries has, undoubtedly, encouraged that régime's belligerent and intransigent behaviour. Zambia calls upon those major Western countries on the Council to join with the other members of the Council in taking such measures as will not only bring about the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, but also ensure that henceforth racist South Africa shall respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

16. I wish to conclude by reiterating my country's support for and solidarity with the Government and people of Angola, which have suffered the indignities of occupation with such indomitable courage that it has won them the admiration of their brothers and sisters in Zambia. We cannot but ask the Council to put an end to such indignities. Failure by the Council to take appropriate action in the interests of justice and peace would be a gross abdication of its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

17. Mr. LING Qing (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: At the outset, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for

this month. I am sure that, with your wide diplomatic experience and outstanding abilities, you will steer the Council successfully through the final month of its work for this year.

18. I also wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and thanks to the President for last month, Mr. Gauci, of Malta, for the distinguished manner in which he carried out his duties.

19. More than two years have passed since the racist régime of South Africa launched an armed invasion against Angola and occupied parts of its territory. Ignoring the fact that the international community has strongly condemned the criminal acts of South Africa and demanded an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, the South African authorities have openly flouted the solemn and just demand of the international community. They have refused to pull out their aggressive troops from Angola and further intensified their aggressive activities there, which has not only constituted a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, but also posed a grave threat to peace and security throughout southern Africa. The Chinese delegation therefore fully supports the Government of Angola in requesting emergency meetings of the Council to review this serious situation.

20. On 23 August 1981, South Africa launched a frenzied and massive invasion into Angola and sent in its armed forces. It has incessantly intensified its acts of aggression since then. The South African troops have on several occasions launched air and ground attacks on main communication lines, towns and villages inside Angola, inflicting immeasurable losses of life and property on the Angolan people. To date, South Africa is still occupying large tracts of land in Cunene province in southern Angola. The South African aggressors have met with strong resistance from the Angolan people. While stepping up their aggression, the South African authorities have of late resorted to the manoeuvre of feigning the easing of tension by proposing the so-called disengagement between the military forces of the two sides in Angola. In making that proposal, South Africa is obviously trying to confuse the aggressors and the victims of aggression, dodge its responsibilities for aggression and legitimize its occupation of Namibia and the territories in southern Angola. This scheme will never succeed.

21. A just cause enjoys abundant support, while an unjust cause finds little support. South Africa has, by its acts of aggression, gravely trampled underfoot the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law and it has naturally met with stern condemnation by the international community. In its Political Declaration, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March this year

> "strongly condemned the continued military occupation of part of Angolan territory by the South African racist troops in violation of the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola . . .; demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory and decided to increase support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Angola" [*S/15675, annex, sect. I, para. 62*].

22. Not long ago, the current session of the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the effects of *apartheid* on the countries of southern Africa [*resolution 38/39 C of 5 December 1983*], which also condemned the acts of aggression against Angola and other countries in southern Africa by the South African authorities and demanded the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. We maintain that the Council should undertake the responsibility of preserving international peace and security, strongly condemn South Africa's armed aggression against Angola and demand that South Africa respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and withdraw all its troops immediately and unconditionally.

23. The Chinese delegation will, as always, resolutely uphold the just struggle of Angola and other countries in southern Africa against South African aggression and firmly support the Namibian people and the South African people in their struggle for national liberation until they win the final victory.

24. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

25. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak in this debate of the Security Council. My delegation has followed with appreciation the manner in which you have used your diplomatic skills in the discharge of your responsible task as President of the Council. We wish you further success in your high office, in particular with a view to the required achievement of a satisfactory and peace-securing solution to the important issue before us.

26. Our appreciation goes also to your predecessor, the representative of Malta, Mr. Gauci, who fulfilled his duties so excellently.

27. Once again the Council has to deal with the increasing acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against independent, sovereign Angola. The following questions arise. How long will it still be possible for South Africa to continue this sordid war against Angola and the other front-line States? How long will it still be possible for the racist régime to provoke the whole of mankind without being punished? World public opinion expects this body to take resolute measures and to answer those questions.

28. Last Friday [*2504th meeting*], the representative of Angola, Mr. de Figueiredo, explained the consequences of the persistent acts of aggression by Pretoria. Angola, a country which, after having suffered for centuries under colonial rule, has the firm will to use all its strength and the energy of its people to construct a happy future, a country which is longing for peace because that is the prerequisite of all its endeavours, continues to be forced to spend considerable amounts for the defence of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Worse still, it daily suffers irreplaceable losses of human life as well as incalculable material damage.

29. As early as 15 August 1983, the Deputy Minister of External Relations of Angola, in his cable to the Secretary-General [*S/15929*], informed us about the racist régime's occupation of Cangamba in the province of Moxico. That criminal act was preceded by heavy air strikes and artillery fire, claiming numerous victims among the civilian population, as well as causing considerable material damage. The attack, designed to relieve the counter-revolutionary gangs, exposes as a gross deception of world public opinion the statement by South African Prime Minister Botha on the alleged readiness of his Government to conduct a dialogue with the neighbouring States and to conclude a non-aggression treaty.

30. The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns the new act of aggression, and declares its firm solidarity with the people of Angola, which is determined to repel the invaders and to recover its original boundaries.

31. Since 1979 my country has been closely linked with the courageous people of Angola by the bonds of a treaty of friendship and co-operation. It therefore fully supports the position expressed by the front-line States at the summit meeting held at Lusaka on 12 November 1983, on the repulse of the South African aggression and the defence of the territorial integrity of Angola.

32. However, to achieve its legitimate objectives, that country needs the support of all decent people. But it also needs appropriate decisions by the Council finally to put an end to the crimes the *apartheid* régime has perpetrated in contravention of international law.

33. We know that we are not alone in expressing this view. In the debates on General Assembly agenda items entitled "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa" and "Question of Namibia", States' representatives almost unanimously condemned Pretoria's policy of destabilization, aggression and occupation, and demanded its termination. It has been convincingly proved that it is not South Africa, but the sovereign and independent neighbouring States—in particular, Angola—which are threatened and which are the victims in that region. This entails a strict call for the unconditional—I repeat "unconditional"—immediate and complete withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola: an end to the misuse of the Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for aggression: the termination of all assistance for and any collaboration with the gangs of UNITA [*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*]—an instrument of South African policy; and reparations for all damage caused by the aggressor. Most recently, with the adoption of resolution 539 (1983)—there is almost no need to refer to this fact—it was agreed that the fulfilment of those demands must in no way be linked to the presence of Cuban internationalist forces in Angola. The threat to that country continues to exist, and thus there continue to exist the conditions which induced Angola to request foreign assistance under Article 51 of the Charter. In contrast, it is absolutely imperative to force South Africa to comply with those demands through the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. This is the answer to the questions I raised at the very outset.

34. However, a realistic assessment of the situation requires us to point to all those forces which encourage the *apartheid* régime to pursue its provocative policy. As we persistently have to witness—be it in the Middle East, in Central America or in the Caribbean—imperialist circles make every effort to stop peoples' embarking upon the road to a future in peace, freedom and independence, and make every effort to regain lost territories and to incorporate them anew in their sphere of dominance. All sorts of means are suitable when great-Power interest is to be realized. Unrestrained hatred against socialism, against progress, against the peoples' striving for a life without colonial oppression and without exploitation, against everything that limits imperialism's field of action, dictates the measures. The policy of confrontation and super-armament pursued by the most aggressive circles of the United States and its allies, the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the stirring up of new hotbeds of conflict, are the direct results of this.

35. There is no doubt that the situation in southern Africa is, together with that in the Middle East, particularly dangerous at present. The United States makes every effort to preserve the racist régime, its most important bridgehead on the African continent. It openly recognizes Pretoria as its ally, and prevents decisive measures being taken by the Council. This policy is responsible for the fact that the *apartheid* system continues to exist, and that South Africa is enabled to continue its acts of aggression against Angola. This policy is also responsible for the fact that—against the will of the majority of States—no solution of the Namibian problem is yet foreseeable.

36. The recent statement by South African Defence Minister Malan on preparatory work to be carried out for the deployment of medium-range missiles in Cape province demonstrates that South Africa is willing to continue its policy of threat and aggression against Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. That means that without the termination of imperialist collaboration there will be no end to the *apartheid* terror.

37. It is high time the imperialist States became aware of the danger of their policy and recognized that it has no perspective. The adventurist policy of Pretoria cannot in the long run hold up the progress of history in the south of the African continent. But it can drive the whole continent to the verge of the disaster of a war. It carries murder and aggression over the borders of independent, sovereign States.

38. Nobody can ignore this reality. The present situation prevailing in southern Africa and particularly around Angola requires the utmost vigilance by all peace-loving States, but at the same time extensive means must also be provided to assist the Angolan people. My delegation once again assures Angola and the other front-line States of the firm and fraternal solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in their just struggle, serving world peace against the racist and colonial *apartheid* régime.

39. We wish to express our hope that the Council will meet the legitimate demands of Angola, as expressed by its representative.

40. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

41. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Permit me at the very outset, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December and to wish you every success in your endeavours.

42. Our congratulations go also to your predecessor, Mr. Gauci, the representative of Malta, on the wise and effective manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the Council last month.

43. Once again Angola is back in the Council to complain about the unceasing and unprovoked acts of aggression as well as the illegal occupation of its territory by the racist régime of South Africa. That Angola has once again resorted to the peace-making and peace-keeping procedures of the Council is testimony to that country's abiding faith in the Council and to its loyalty to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

44. So far, however, the Council has not lived up to that trust and indeed has not even been able to discharge its primary responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. Since 1975 South Africa has violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola so many times that it is difficult, if not impossible, to keep the exact count. In keeping with its policy and its respect for the law, Angola has, however, always resorted to the established procedures of the Council both to put an end to South Africa's aggression and to seek compensation for the damages suffered. The Council, more often than not, has responded by condemning the acts of aggression and calling for the withdrawal of the invading forces.

45. All these pronouncements of the Council have, unfortunately, not inhibited the racist régime from pursuing with even increased frequency and total impunity its wanton acts of aggression. While, under the circumstances, the logical course of action would have been the imposition of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, the veto power exercised by the Western permanent members has paralysed the Council and prevented it from taking any meaningful measures and made a mockery of its responsibilities under the Charter.

46. Today the rule of law in the conduct of international relations is losing ground and the dangerous policy of "might makes right" is in the ascendant. If this trend were to continue unchecked, the horrible consequences would not be difficult to imagine.

47. It is this concern for the future and a deeply felt sense of solidarity with the Government and people of Angola that have compelled the Ethiopian delegation to participate in the current deliberations of the Council and to express once again its indignation, and indeed the indignation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its member States, at the continuing acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime against Angola. We are convinced that the situation under consideration is one in which the Council, by upholding the principles of the Charter and by activating its enforcement procedures, can help to check and reverse the current trend towards global anarchy. Angola's complaints therefore have to be given the very serious consideration they deserve. South Africa has to be told in no uncertain terms that it cannot henceforth be allowed to violate with impunity the norms and principles of international law. Furthermore, that régime must be told to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the territory of Angola.

48. At this juncture, I should like to comment briefly on the much-publicized, yet clearly deceptive, diplomatic overtures of the South African régime. In his letter to the Secretary-General dated 15 December, Mr. R. F. Botha stated:

> "Further to my letter of 22 November 1983, and with a view to facilitating the process of achieving a peaceful settlement of the South West Africa/Namibia issue, the Government of South Africa is prepared to begin a disengagement of forces which from time to time conduct military operations against SWAPO in Angola, on 31 January 1984, on the understanding that this gesture would be reciprocated by the Angolan Government, which would assure that its own forces, SWAPO and the Cubans, would not exploit the resulting situation, in particular with regard to actions which might threaten the security of the inhabitants of South West Africa/Namibia." [*See S/16219, annex I.*]

49. This letter, coming as it does on the eve of the Council debate on Angola's complaint against the racist

régime of South Africa, is a transparent but clever attempt to forestall any meaningful action by the Council. Moreover, it is again a transparent and a seemingly clever attempt on the part of the racist Pretoria régime to link its illegal occupation of parts of southern Angola with the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

50. South Africa's seemingly clever proposal, furthermore, is not only vague but overburdened with unacceptable implications. In this regard, it has to be stated that inasmuch as South African forces are occupying the territory of Angola illegally, they have to withdraw immediately and unconditionally. In short, South Africa cannot make conditions for the withdrawal of its forces from Angolan territory. Furthermore, once those forces are withdrawn, the Angolan Government should be able to exercise its legitimate authority over all its territory, in keeping with its sovereign rights.

51. Ethiopia believes that, unless the Pretoria régime elaborates on its proposal, the international community should not give it any serious consideration. And unless such an elaboration clearly shows that there are no preconditions which could detract from Angolan sovereignty, and that there is no linkage with Namibia's independence, the international community should reject the proposal as another ruse that has become the hallmark of Pretoria's diplomacy.

52. Finally, I should like to reaffirm the full support and fraternal solidarity which Angola enjoys in my country, Ethiopia, and, indeed, in the African family of nations. In this connection, I am happy to refer to the resolution adopted by the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June, in which the military occupation by South African troops of part of the territory of Angola was strongly condemned and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the occupation forces from Angolan territory demanded. Furthermore, the leaders of Africa have, in that resolution, fully supported

> "the measures taken by the Angolan Government, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to guarantee and safeguard the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola".[1]

53. That said, I should like to express the hope that the decision in the Council on the complaint of Angola against South Africa will be such that it will contribute to the realization of the aspirations of the fraternal people of Angola to live in peace and prosperity.

54. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Abdul G. Koroma. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

55. Mr. KOROMA: On behalf of the Special Committee on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish to express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, and the other members for this opportunity to address the Council in connection with its consideration of the complaint by Angola.

56. In the same vein, I should like to express my felicitations to Mr. Victor Gauci of Malta for the commendable manner in which he presided over the affairs of the Council last month.

57. This is not the first time that the Council, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of peace and security, is meeting to consider a complaint by Angola about further acts of military aggression against its territory and occupation by the armed forces of the racist minority régime of South Africa.

58. Over the years the Council has repeatedly adopted resolutions and decisions concerning the blatant breach of the territorial integrity of independent countries by the South African régime, notably those adopted in 1978, 1979 and 1980 [*resolutions 428 (1978), 447 (1979), 454 (1979) and 475 (1980)*], in specific regard to Angola.

59. In those resolutions, the Council in particular condemned strongly the minority racist régime of South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions of Angola, which constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, as well as a serious threat to international peace and security. The Council strongly condemned, also, South Africa's utilization of the international Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for armed incursions and invasions and for the destabilization of Angola.

60. It is three years now since the adoption of the Council's latest decision. We note with deep regret and consternation that we are still confronted with the same situation of continuing defiance by the South African racist minority régime of its solemn obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. The South African forces are still illegally occupying Angolan territory and using the international Territory of Namibia as a springboard for armed invasions and acts of aggression and thus intensifying the threat to the peace and security of the region.

61. The justification constructed by the South African régime for this illegal act must be rejected. The international community cannot accept, even by the furthest stretch of imagination, such an act of aggression perpetrated by the illegal occupier of the international Territory of Namibia under the pretext of the so-called protection of the best interest and security of the people of the Territory whose fundamental rights it has flagrantly denied and continues to deny.

62. The Special Committee categorically rejects the justification constructed by the Pretoria régime for its illegal acts.

63. On the other hand, this dastardly armed invasion and occupation of Angolan territory is the latest and most serious in a long series of deliberate acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime against the neighbouring independent States, including Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia.

64. South Africa has continued to deploy its army in the region in order to intimidate the neighbouring African States into silent accomplices while it continues with its colonial occupation of Namibia and attempts to paralyse and destroy Angola in the process.

65. Coming at this time when the international community is intensifying its continuing efforts to bring about a peaceful transition in Namibia and to work out an internationally acceptable solution to the problem, the South African aggression bespeaks the desperate and calculated design of the racist régime to block all avenues towards a negotiated settlement for the genuine independence of the Territory.

66. It is incumbent upon the entire international community not merely to condemn in the strongest possible terms this blatant breach of all norms of international law and the principles of the Charter by the South African minority régime, but also to take concrete steps to redress and to prevent the recurrence of such criminal acts, through the faithful and strict application of the relevant provisions of the Charter. At the same time, all possible support and assistance must be given to the Government of Angola in its efforts to protect and safeguard its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Such support and assistance must be given as well to the people of Namibia for their courageous struggle for liberation under the stalwart leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

67. I wish to stress once again the gravity of the situation brought about by this latest act of aggression against Angola. The international community has a solemn responsibility to act, and act positively, to put an immediate end to the serious threat to international peace and security in the region. It would be not only immoral but also disastrous if the United Nations were to remain neutral in regard to South Africa's aggression and continued occupation of the territory of a Member State. It would also be incompatible with the very *raison d'être* of the Organization and with the system of collective security stipulated in the Charter.

68. In this connection, the Special Committee has long called for the full and effective application of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, bearing in mind the continuing defiance by South Africa of its obligations under the Charter and its persistent use of force to perpetuate its illegal domination of Namibia, as well as its repeated and increasingly savage acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. Indeed, the Special Committee holds the view that it is through implementing the provisions of Chapter VII that peace, justice and freedom can be speedily restored to the peoples of southern Africa.

69. The situation in southern Africa remains one of the most critical issues confronting the Organization. The current developments make it more than clear that the United Nations, which has the direct responsibility for Namibia until the Territory achieves self-determination and independence, can no longer afford the flouting of its decisions. The dangerous situation brought about by the latest acts of aggression against Angola underscores once again the solemn responsibility of the international community to act in conformity with the Charter to eradicate, once and for all, this serious threat to peace and security. To accept, let alone collaborate with, the Pretoria régime's colonial occupation of Namibia is to admit the impotence and ineffectiveness of the Organization. Failure by the Council to curb South Africa's aggression weakens its authority.

70. The attainment without further delay by the people of Namibia of their legitimate aspirations to an independent and free Namibia is indeed the most critical and urgent challenge which confronts us today, and I wish to take this opportunity to address an earnest and urgent appeal to the members of the Council to respond decisively to this challenge.

71. South Africa should not be allowed to replace its obligation to grant independence to Namibia with its aggression and illegal occupation of Angola. The Pretoria régime must be left in no doubt of the international community's determination to ensure Namibia's independence and the restoration of peace, justice and equality in southern Africa.

72. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Permit me first of all to welcome you, Mr. President, to the important post of President of the Council. We note with satisfaction that you are successfully making use of your rich qualities of statesmanship and diplomatic skill in conducting the proceedings of the Council in this last month of 1983.

73. Permit me also to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Victor Gauci, who with such great skill discharged the functions of President last month.

74. The Council is once again considering the question of the aggression of the racist Pretoria régime against the sovereign, independent State of Angola. These acts of aggression, as we know, began as far back as the period when Angola won its independence in 1975, and since that time they have not ceased for a single day. Major incursions on the part of South African armed forces into the territory of Angola have been accompanied by constant attacks on Angolan towns and populated areas by airborne units of South Africa,

by bombers and artillery fire; there is a policy of military terror on the part of the racists in all the southern provinces of Angola. Recently the enemies of Angola have stepped up their aggressive actions. Pretoria has now embarked on military actions, new in terms of both scale and quality, with the idea of disrupting the democratic system in Angola and striking blows at the national liberation movement throughout southern Africa.

75. The area of military intervention has expanded. Formerly it was carried out in the southern provinces. Now the targets of aggression are the central and eastern portions of the country. Beginning with the tactic of episodic, spasmodic raids, the enemy has now embarked on attempts to consolidate itself in strategically important points and to create strong points there. The racist invasion forces, particularly the air force and mechanized and airborne units, are operating openly and arrogantly, together with terrorist gangs of UNITA being sent into Angola from Namibia, which is occupied by the racists. Along with this, military operations are going on against other front-line States.

76. As a result of all this, the situation in southern Africa has now considerably worsened. The aggressive actions of the racist Pretoria régime against Angola and other African States constitute a serious and ever-growing threat to their sovereignty and territorial integrity and a threat to international peace and security.

77. Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, is a spring-board for the waging of war against Angola and other African States. Recently we have seen exposed more and more clearly South Africa's ambition to prevent the Namibian people's attainment of true freedom and independence and to crush by means of cruel repression the liberation struggle of that people and to prevent the coming to power in Namibia of the patriotic forces under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

78. The provocative conduct of the South African régime, which has manifested itself again in the statement made by the representative of South Africa [*2504th meeting*], is to be explained by the fact that Pretoria is benefiting from the patronage of the United States and certain other countries which are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They are calling for patience and understanding with regard to the policy of South Africa and are impeding the adoption by the Council of effective measures against the aggressor. As a result of this, the Pretoria authorities are stepping up even further their aggressive actions against neighbouring African States.

79. Pretoria and Washington are attempting to cover up their imperialist policy in Africa by claims that the conflict in southern Africa represents a confrontation between East and West. Last week we heard this from the representative of South Africa, who said that in waging war against neighbouring independent African countries Pretoria, in his words, was defending the interests of the whole of Africa [*ibid., para. 46*].

80. That song is too old, and too familiar: first they raise a hue and cry about the "red peril" or the "hand of Moscow", and then they say, "We have to save Western civilization". Under the cover of this propaganda smoke-screen, they carry out their deliberately planned aggression against neighbouring countries. Such plans are used not only in southern Africa, but also in Central America, in the Caribbean, in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. Incidentally, that is what was done in the 1930s by various parties, when they concluded the notorious anti-Comintern pact and raised such a furor throughout the world about the "danger from the East". They then sent their military machine, first of all, to a place which was certainly not in the East.

81. Claims that the situation in southern Africa is a reflection of an East-West confrontation are believable today only to the very credulous. In fact, the essence of the conflict in that region lies in the struggle between, on the one hand, the national liberation movements of the African peoples, supported by progressive countries throughout the world, and, on the other hand, the combined forces of imperialism, racism and colonialism.

82. Rather than proposing an unconditional halt to aggression in Angola and the withdrawal of its troops, Pretoria is now proposing a sort of "disengagement" and the imposition upon Angola of limitations on its sovereign rights in its own territory, limitations which include "linkage"—that notorious linkage which has been rejected by practically everyone. As was stated quite clearly by the representative of Angola, Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola's sovereignty cannot be the subject of negotiations [*ibid., para. 27*]. South African troops must be withdrawn from Angola immediately, unreservedly and unconditionally, and Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected by all, including South Africa.

83. In recent years, the Council has had repeated occasion to discuss the situation which has arisen as a result of the many years of undeclared war that Pretoria has been waging against Angola. It has already condemned the racist régime of South Africa five times for its deliberate, incessant armed intrusions into Angola, describing them as a serious threat to international peace and security [*resolutions 387 (1976), 428 (1978), 447 (1979), 454 (1979) and 475 (1980)*]. In its resolutions, the Council has also demanded that South Africa unswervingly respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

84. Further, in paragraph 7 of resolution 475 (1980), the Council decided:

"to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist régime, in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof".

85. The representatives of Angola and other African and non-aligned countries who have spoken in the Council, in particular the representative of India, speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, have condemned South Africa's aggressive actions against Angola and have demanded that the Council finally take effective measures to force the racist aggressors to halt their atrocities against neighbouring African peoples and to yield to the opinion of the world community.

86. The Soviet delegation associates itself with those demands. We believe that it is high time to adopt effective measures against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

87. In the years of the independent existence of its country, the Angolan people has had considerable success in carrying out social and economic reforms and in building a popular democratic State. But the Angolan people has had to build its new life in extremely difficult conditions.

88. Angola is in the front ranks of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. The foes of independence and freedom for all of Africa are massed against Angola, but Angola is not alone. It has many friends. The valour of the Angolan people in the struggle against the designs of external and internal foes and for the defence of its country has won it the profound respect of the entire world. The struggle of the Angolan people in defence of a just cause, relying on the solidarity of all progressive forces in the world, will without any doubt be crowned with victory.

89. The position of the Soviet Union on the question under discussion could not be clearer. Our sympathy and support go to free and independent Africa, to the African peoples struggling for freedom and independence. The Soviet Union categorically condemns South Africa's aggressive policy against Angola, the occupation by South African troops of part of Angola's territory, and the direct participation of those troops on an ever-growing scale in military actions making use of UNITA gangs.

90. The Soviet Union is linked to Angola by a treaty of friendship and co-operation; it has been providing and will continue to provide every possible support in the defence of Angola's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

91. We believe that in the present circumstances the Council, as the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must do its duty. It must categorically condemn the racist régime of South Africa, demand that it call a halt forthwith to its aggressive actions against Angola and, immediately and unconditionally, withdraw its troops from Angolan territory.

92. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

93. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Mr. President, I should like to express my gratitude to you and the other members of the Council for giving the delegation of Egypt the opportunity to participate in the debate on this subject, which is of great importance to international peace and security in general and to Egypt as an African country in particular.

94. At the outset I should like to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. On this occasion we would express our pleasure that Egypt and the Netherlands have always enjoyed relations of friendship and co-operation. We are confident that under your wise leadership the Council will be able efficiently to carry out the important task before it.

95. I should also like to express our thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Gauci, the representative of Malta, and President last month, for the skill and diplomatic competence he demonstrated in conducting the business of the Council.

96. Once again Angola finds itself compelled to bring to the attention of the Council the question of the continuing occupation of parts of its territory by the forces of the racist Pretoria régime. As is well known, the aggression by the forces of that régime against Angola started in the first hours of that country's independence. That aggression continued in varying degrees until, in 1981, it was transformed into permanent occupation of some of the southern parts of Angolan territory, giving categorical evidence, if the international community needed such evidence, that the racist South African régime, in its aggression against Angola and its occupation of parts of its territory, seeks the achievement of a single goal: compelling that country to accept without any opposition its colonialist and racist policies and schemes in the region. That explains the material and moral support the Pretoria régime gives to the terrorist movements working against the legitimate régime in Angola.

97. Angola has never constituted a threat to South Africa; it does not constitute such a threat now, and it never will. That is clear.

98. First, on several occasions since Angola's independence, its Government has expressed its sincere wish to achieve peace and stability in southern Africa

and to devote itself to the development process that Angola, like the rest of the third-world countries, urgently needs. Angola has also clearly demonstrated its wish not to engage in any military confrontation with the South African régime.

99. Secondly, the huge military superiority of the aggressive Pretoria régime in itself proves the invalidity of the allegation that South Africa must be protected. On the contrary, the front-line States are the ones that are consistently being subjected to military aggression by the racist régime.

100. Thirdly, it seems the racist Pretoria régime is continuously attempting to ignore the inescapable geographical fact that it has no common borders with Angola. There is between Angola and South Africa a territory that separates them: Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South African forces in defiance of the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations. All of this clearly indicates that the main reason for South Africa's continued aggression against Angola, and its occupation of parts of Angolan territory, is not security, as has been alleged by the Government of the racist régime. Rather, it is its dissatisfaction with the policies of the present legitimate Government of Angola.

101. The peoples of southern Africa in general and the people of Angola in particular have suffered greatly throughout their history as a result of colonialism and foreign occupation and the attendant exploitation of their material and human resources. They are now in dire need of stability and security so that they can devote themselves to the responsibilities of development, make up for last time and catch up with the march of progress, of which they have been deprived in years past.

102. The aggression by the racist Pretoria régime against Angola and against the front-line States not only prevents the peoples and Governments of the region from devoting themselves to the tasks of development; it also inflicts upon them huge losses in life and property as a result of the destruction and havoc caused by this aggression.

103. As for the remark made by the representative of South Africa in his statement to the Security Council on Friday last [*2504th meeting*], when he said that the acts carried out by the forces of the Pretoria régime in the southern parts of Angola were aimed at protecting Africa from external threat, in the face of such an allegation my delegation feels in duty bound to reaffirm here that the acts of aggression and destabilization carried out by South African troops in southern Africa in general, and in Angola in particular, in themselves make possible interference by foreign forces in the affairs of the African continent.

104. It is clear that the continued aggression by South African armed forces against Angola, South Africa's occupation of a part of Angola, and the outcomes and consequences of continuing the present situation, not only for southern Africa but also for other distant and larger regions, put the Council face to face with its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

105. Egypt hopes that the Council will play its role in complete consonance with what the international community expects of it: clear and categorical condemnation of South Africa's aggression against Angola and occupation of parts of Angola's territory and the demand that the racist Pretoria régime desist from its aggression and violation of the territorial integrity of Angola, immediately and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Angolan territory and pay appropriate compensation to Angola for the huge losses of life and property it has inflicted on that country in past years.

106. The Egyptian delegation also hopes that the Council will consider the imposition on the Pretoria régime of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations if that régime fails to implement the Council's resolutions.

107. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Cuba in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba) took a place at the Council table.

108. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cuba.

109. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, my delegation very much admires the manner in which you are conducting these meetings of the Council. We are convinced that, with your acknowledged talent and your diplomatic experience, you will be able to conduct these proceedings successfully.

110. We should like to take this occasion to pay a tribute to your predecessor, our friend Mr. Gauci of Malta, on the excellent manner in which he presided over the meetings of the Council during the month of November. We should like also to thank the members of the Council for this opportunity to speak in this debate.

111. Since the middle of 1981, when its troops occupied part of southern Angola, in flagrant violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of that country and of international law and the Charter of

the United Nations, the racist régime of Pretoria has persisted in its policy of aggression and expansion, which is a threat to regional and international peace and security.

112. This is, of course, not the first time that the Council has met to consider the Angolan Government's complaints against South Africa. Indeed, a few days after the declaration of Angola's independence, the racist régime tried to prevent that independence by launching a large-scale invasion deep into Angolan territory. The determined and effective action of FAPLA [*Forças Armadas Populares de Libertaçao de Angola*] and the Cuban internationalist forces, whose assistance was requested by the then President, Comrade Agostinho Neto, to defend the national sovereignty and independence that had been so dearly won, thwarted Pretoria's criminal designs and repelled the racist forces.

113. Independent Angola has since then, however, had to protect itself against continued unprovoked South African attacks and aggression and has had to wage periodic battles in the southern provinces against bandits armed, trained and directed by the Pretoria racists and by imperialism. They are developing a policy of harassment of the civilian population and carrying out sabotage of the national economy, as tactics to divert attention from the ferocious raids of Mr. Botha's henchmen on Namibian refugee camps.

114. Since 1976 the Council has adopted various resolutions [*resolutions 387 (1976), 428 (1978), 447 (1979), 454 (1979) and 475 (1980)*] calling on South Africa scrupulously to respect the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola; to pay compensation for the damage caused to life and property and forthwith to cease provocative armed invasions and totally and unconditionally to withdraw all its troops from Angolan territory.

115. As a result of the negative vote of one permanent member of the Council, the United States, and the unlimited support its Government gives the Pretoria racists, the South African forces have repeatedly ignored the United Nations call and continue to occupy parts of the southern territory of Angola and to carry out acts of aggression against various targets in the country, openly defying the Organization and world public opinion.

116. Suffice it to read the letter dated 15 December from Mr. R. F. Botha to the Secretary-General to see, once again, the insolent and scornful attitude of the South African racists towards the decisions of the Council. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the *apartheid* régime states in his letter that "the South African Government remains prepared to begin the process of implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978) upon resolution of the problem of Cuban forces in Angola" [*see S/16219, annex I*].

117. This condition, which repeats demands of their American allies, has nothing to do with the Angolan complaint that the Council is considering, nor does it have anything to do, of course, with the independence of Namibia, which is not the question before us today.

118. The problem is not the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in Angola, which are there under a sovereign agreement between two independent Governments, but the occupation by South African criminals of parts of Angolan territory.

119. The first and, in fact, the only thing that must be stated by the representatives of the racist régime is when they will withdraw their invading troops from the territory they are occupying illegally within Angola, and in direct violation of the Charter. This is no more nor less than what the international community, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Angolan Government are requesting. Any other reply is irrelevant and can only be taken as an attempt to confuse the issues and dodge the principal question.

120. Furthermore, it has been made perfectly clear that the presence of my country's internationalist forces is a matter that falls exclusively within the purview of the Governments of Angola and Cuba and that those forces will remain where they are until an end has been put to the danger to Angolan security, sovereignty and independence represented by the continued and, of course, illegal occupation of Namibia and parts of Angolan territory by South African racists.

121. Mr. Botha's letter is just one more manoeuvre by his repressive régime and is motivated solely by Angola's complaint to the Council. It has no other purpose but to set up a smoke-screen around its acts of aggression and outrage against Agostinho Neto's homeland.

122. In fact, as we have stated in this forum and in the General Assembly, the designs of the Pretoria régime and its allies are perfectly clear, albeit illusory: to keep Namibia occupied, where they intend to impose a neo-colonial solution and prevent the triumph of SWAPO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people; and to work to destabilize the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, with a view to bringing it back to neo-colonial and imperialist domination and turning it into a vassal régime of South Africa.

123. Such a strategy, including the destabilization, overthrow or neutralization of the independent Governments of various neighbouring and front-line States, is meant to create a zone of neo-colonized countries around South Africa which would enable it to preserve and develop its infamous and monstrous system of *apartheid* and to strengthen and extend the spurious interests of imperialism in southern Africa and beyond the region.

124. The Council must vigorously condemn the racist régime for its military occupation of the southern part

of Angola, for this is a threat to international peace and security. It must also demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the invading forces from that territory.

125. In addition, South Africa must scrupulously respect the territorial integrity, national sovereignty and independence of Angola and provide speedy and full compensation to its Government for the serious damage caused to its infrastructure and to other vital sectors of the economy and for the loss of life occasioned by the armed invasion and occupation of its territory.

126. The Secretary-General, who has carefully followed the development of the situation in southern Africa, must report to the Council on compliance with whatever resolution is adopted. If South Africa, as it has done in the past, refuses to abide by this body's decisions, then the comprehensive, binding sanctions provided in Chapter VII of the Charter must be applied without further vacillation.

127. It is high time to bridle the South African aggressors. The trotting-out of spurious and irrelevant arguments to explain away the continuation of a situation that violates international law and the Charter is a subterfuge which the Council must not go on accepting or it will become an accomplice in the cheap tricks being used by the racist régime and in its aggressive and expansionist policy.

128. The Council must be strict in its decisions: South African troops must be made to withdraw from Angola, immediately and unconditionally. If they refuse to do so then the full weight of international law must be brought to bear on the Pretoria criminals. This, in our opinion, is the inescapable responsibility of the Council.

129. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Turkey in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gökce (Turkey) took a place at the Council table.

130. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

131. Mr. GÖKCE (Turkey): Mr. President, I thank you, and through you the members of the Council, for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on the question of the occupation of parts of Angola by South Africa.

132. We have already had the opportunity—last week—to congratulate you on your assumption of the task of presiding over the Council's work during December. It has been, as it usually is in these times, an arduous period of work for the Council, but its work is progressing admirably under your most able and experienced guidance.

133. The crisis created by the invasion of southern Angola by South Africa is an international issue affecting peace and security in all of southern Africa, and it has been on the Council's agenda many times —be it directly, as in 1981, or when it has been dealt with within the framework of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

134. Despite the deep concern and alarm expressed by the international community on these and other occasions over the continuation of this South African invasion of large parts of Angolan territory, South Africa has not hesitated to maintain, and in fact even to consolidate, its hold over the southern part of Angola.

135. For evidence of the true nature of South Africa's intentions on Angola, it will suffice to cast a quick look—quick so as not to take up too much of our time by repeating well-known observations—at the area surrounding South Africa. If we do that, we see that South Africa is engaged in tactics of intimidation, destabilization and eventual domination against all its neighbouring African States. These policies of the South African Government have been condemned on various occasions by all the Members of the United Nations. Concomitantly, it can hardly be denied that these aggressive policies are part and parcel of South Africa's desire to establish supremacy in southern Africa, which in turn is designed to enable South Africa to eliminate all resistance to the continuation of its deplorable internal policies of racial discrimination, and its illegal occupation of Namibia.

136. Under these circumstances, Angola has every justifiable reason to call once more on the international community, and particularly the Council, to ensure the speedy withdrawal of South African military forces from its territory. When it is considered that Angola has been the target of attacks by South Africa ever since the moment Angola achieved its independence in 1975, and that these attacks and occupation have increased in their severity during the past three years, the Council should be prepared to consider effective measures against South Africa. It becomes evident that only if South Africa totally reverses its intransigent and belligerent attitude can a solution be found to this situation.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTE

[1] A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res. III (XIX).

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